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THE LANGUAGE OF *EMARE*, A MIDDLE ENGLISH ROMANCE

PART I. PHONOLOGY

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The period from the end of the 13th to the middle of the 15th century saw the fashion of romance writers largely adopting tail-rime stanzas of twelve lines in Scotland and the northern part of England. But this vogue, which is clearly due to the French influence of the day, was hardly followed among writers of the southern district with an occasional exception that Chaucer, for instance, employed this verse pattern (though of six lines) parodically in *Sir Thopas* of the *Canterbury Tales*. In this case, the monotonous beat of tailrime would have been turned to good account by the celebrated poet for the sake of narrative effect.¹⁾ Be that as it may, romances of this category including *Emare* which we find in the north of the Midlands are *Amis and Amiloun* (13th c., North East Midland), *Ipomadon* (ca. 1350, North), *Athelston* (ca. 1350, North Midland), *Sir Octovian* (ca. 1350, North), *Sir Eglamour of Artois* (ca. 1350, North Midland), *Sir Torrent of Portyngale* (ca. 1400, North East Midland) etc. Indeed they may fade into insigni-

ficance beside *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Morte Arthure* or the like; they may be no doubt inferior in terms of literary value; yet they do have their *raison d'être* in that each of them forms the basis of a huge pyramid of romantic sagas of the medieval England.

Of these 'minor' romances, *Emare* may be said most refined to all appearances. The only extant MS. is found in the volume Caligula A II of the Cottonian collection at the British Museum and the date of composition is to be roughly placed later than the middle of the 14th century. Although nothing is known of the immediate source, it would be possible to assign it to the so-called Constance saga, which is so named after the heroine in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* (C. T.) or Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (II, 38) because of a certain similarity of plot between them. It is quite probable that for subject matter these two authors separately depended upon the story of Constance in *Chronique Anglo-Normande* by Nicholas Trivet, an Anglo-Norman writer. This story, in turn, could be traced back to a French version that may have arisen in Touraine, a former province in West France, during the period of Anglo-Norman domination. This assumed French version seems to have been the source of *Emare* and its analogues. The fact that proper names are not only French but loan words in abundant use are also French will lead to the conclusion that *Emare* is a translation or adaptation of a French romance.²⁾ Here is the outline of

the story.

Emare, only child of the emperor Artyus, loses her mother in her infancy and is brought up by a court lady. Artyus later becomes enamoured of his own daughter in adolescence, and obtains a dispensation from the Pope to marry her. But, on her refusal, she is exiled in a boat, which drifts to the land of Galicia. The steward of the king of the land discovers Emare and brings her to his castle, where she spends day after day in needle-working. One day she waits at a banquet for the king, who falls in love with her and at last marries her against the will of his mother. During his absence for the battle with the Saracens, she bears a son, who is named Segramour. The king's mother intercepts a letter telling him of the birth and counterfeits another to the effect that the queen has borne a devilish monster. Although greatly distressed, the king orders his wife to be well treated. His mother, however, again substitutes this letter for another one ordering in the king's name that the queen with her child should be adrift in a boat. The command is after all carried out in people's grief. After a week they drift to Rome, where they are sheltered for seven years by a kind merchant. The king of Galicia, on returning from the war, finds out her mother's treachery and exiles her. After seven years' lamentation he travels to Rome to do penance and happens to lodge at the merchant's house. By Emare's instruction her son Segramour waits at table upon the king, whose heart is strangely drawn toward his unknown child, and Emare makes herself known to him. Artyus, her father, also comes to Rome to do penance and is met by the king of Galicia and his young son. They reconcile themselves with one another and Segramour afterwards becomes emperor.³⁾

Nothing is either known of the author of this story, but from allusions to wandering minstrels in the opening part of the text (v. 13 ff.)⁴⁾ one will be inclined to regard him as such. The more explicit feature of the language of the text would lead us to the supposition that the author's country was somewhere within the boundary of the North-East Midland dialect, i. e. Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire.

Of no less historical importance than those of other M. E. literary monuments, the language of *Emare* was a geographical and chronological variety of that which had earlier materialized the *Peterborough Chronicle* (ca. 1150), *Ormulum* (ca. 1200), *Genesis and Exodus* (ca. 1250) and *Havelok the Dane* (ca. 1300). The North-East Midland dialect (abbreviated to NEM) stood midway between Northern and South-East Midland dialects: the former was the development of Northumbrian in the Old English period, while the latter, evolved from Old Mercian of the eastern division under the Danelaw, approximated more closely to the Northern dialect. It goes without saying that geographical boundaries for dialects do not exist: in its fringe a given dialect merges into the next with no clear line of demarcation, and it is only for the sake of convenience that we usually speak of such a vanishing or neutral zone as if reduced to a real line. Then, it was important that NEM bordered on its southern counterpart, i. e. SEM (the South-East Midland dialect), because the SEM territory comprised London, Oxford and

Cambridge, thus lending itself to the capacity of the literary language which, in its turn, was to be furthered by Chaucer, Gower and Wyclif.

Such being the case, it is clear that NEM must have played a disguised but significant part in forming a channel through which to send out into SEM a number of substantial Old Norse loan words including *they*, *their*, *them* etc. or scores of Northern forms. Here we cannot afford to dwell upon how matters stood then. What is more, there is the problem of French loan-words which kept finding their way into ME after the Norman Conquest. Concerning this, it would suffice to say that in such a literary work as romance which generally presupposes a French model in some form or other in its background, the significance of the role to be played by words of French origin cannot be too much evaluated. Thus it is not without reason that the romance of *Emare* has been singled out as a language testing to prove the validity of the above premise. In what follows the linguistic testing will be made in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax, and this conventional tripartite approach, it is hoped, would give a clear picture of the English language in the making.⁵⁾

PART I. PHONOLOGY

The language of *Emare* is here to illustrate that it was by no means an exception to the general phonological change from OE to

ME. So far as it is concerned, the pattern of the change is frequently so advanced as to appear in the guise of ModE for all the difference in orthography and pronunciation: in the ultimate analysis, it is a number of EM or NEM characteristics that have found their way into Modern Standard English. Generally speaking, this romance would provide us with many interesting aspects of the language in its horizontal section along with the admixture of dialectal and foreign elements in it.

1. Vowels

§ 1. The vocalic changes that distinguish OE from ME may be conventionally treated as qualitative and quantitative. Of the former a great variety of vowel changes comes to the fore, while of the latter the lengthening of short vowels is the most important. In the first section isolative changes in both aspects of vowels are to be dealt with. In the following those words placed after the symbol >or~ are, as a rule, illustrations from *Emare*.

1a.) OE a~ME a:— The vowel is unchanged in other dialects than WM (West Midland) in a certain case: e. g. *warian*>*warye* / *arm*~*arm(e)* / *man(n)*~*man* etc.

1b.) OE a>ME-WM o:— This change happened when *a* came before a nasal. In *Emare* this WM form is more frequent than the above: e. g. *land*>*lond(e)* / *manig*>*mony* / *rann* (pret. of *rinnan*)>*ronne* / *sand*>*sond* / *standen*>*stonden* / *panken*>

ponken etc. These alone could not be a positive indication of the author's country.

- 1c.) **OE æ>ME a**:— In NEM *a*-forms are regular: e. g. *æfter* > *after* / *gemæd* > *mad(e)* / *glæd* > *glad(d)* / *pæll* > *palle* / *sæl* > *sal(e)* / *wæs* > *was* etc.
- 2.) **OE a>ME ā**:— The lengthening took place in most dialects in the early 13th century: e. g. *caru* > *kāre* / *scamu* > *shāme* / *sparian* > *spāre* etc.
- 3a.) **OE e~ME e**:— Unchanged in all dialects: e. g. *bed(d)~bed* / (Anglian) *merc* > *merke* / *fela* > *fele* / *hefig* > *heuy* / *lettan* > *lette* / *weder~weder* etc.
- 3b.) **OE eo>ME e**:— The sound /*ö*/ represented by the spelling *eo* was flattened into /*e*/ during the 12th century in other dialects than WM and SM which retained it until the 14th century: e. g. *eorþlic* > *erþely* / *freo* > *fre* / *heofon* > *heuen* / *heorte* > *herte* / *seofon* > *seuen* / *weorc* > *werk* etc.
- 4a.) **OE æ>ME ē**:— The development of OE *æ* requires special mention because it is of two origins. One is the palatalization of the West Germanic **ā* as in OE *dæd* 'deed' (OSaxon *dād*, OHG *tāt*, ModHG *tat*), OE *stræt* 'street' (OSax. *strāt*, OHG *strāz*, ModHG *strasse*) etc., and this may be conventionally referred to as *æ*¹. This sound was preserved in WS only; in all other dialects it had been raised to *ē* and fell in with OE *ē* of other origins giving a long tense /*ɛ*:/ . The other OE *æ*

was the result of the *i/j*-mutation of OE *a* derived from the West Germanic **ai* as in OE *dǣl* 'deal, part' (<WGmc. **daili* : OHG *teil*, ModHG *teil*), OE *tǣcan* 'teach' (<WGmc. **taik-jan* : OE *tacn*, OHG *zeihhan*, ModHG *zeichen* 'token, sign') etc., which we may call *æ*². This sound was raised to /e:/ in Kentish but remained elsewhere giving a long slack /e:/. These two sounds were thus kept distinct from each other since the OE period in the Anglian speech in the north of the Thames (including Midland dialects), *ē* standing for *æ*¹ and *ǣ* for *æ*² in writing. The difference in quality between the two vowels is of more importance for the later history of the English language than for ME. Although careful rhymers usually kept the two apart, it is often difficult to see the qualitative distinction by the ME spelling. In *Emare* we see that the rule, if any, is not always followed. The chief reason may lie in the fact that the romance consists of the tailrime stanza and that it is a version which, as a matter of course, calls for a good number of foreign words. For example, in the stanza XVIII we find three sets of words of different origins rhymed together : (a) *lēde* (<OE *lǣdan*) : *stēde* (<*stēda*) : *ȝēde* (<*ȝeode*) : *rēde* (<*rǣdan*) ; (b) *grēte* (<*grēat*) : *mēte* (<*mētan* : Northumbr. *mǣta*) : *swēte* (∼) : *sēte* (<*sǣt*) ; and (c) *infēre* (<*in+fēra*) : *chēre* (<AF *chere*).

Here we can see illustrations from *Emare* of what has been

stated in the above: (1) $\bar{a}^1 > \bar{e}$: e. g. $d\bar{a}d > d\bar{e}de$ / $r\bar{a}dan > r\bar{e}de$ / $sl\bar{a}p > sl\bar{e}pe$ / $str\bar{a}t > str\bar{e}te$ / $w\bar{a}de > w\bar{e}de$ / $w\bar{a}ron > w\bar{e}re$ etc. (2) $\bar{a}^2 > \bar{e}$: e. g. $cl\bar{a}ene > cl\bar{e}ne$ (< Gmc **klainiz*) / $d\bar{a}l > d\bar{e}ll$ (< **dailiz*) / $h\bar{a}lan > h\bar{e}len$ (< **χailjan*) / $hl\bar{a}ene > l\bar{e}ne$ (< **χlainjaz*) / $l\bar{a}fan > l\bar{e}ue$ (< **laibjan*) / $s\bar{a}e > see$ (< **sairviz*) / $t\bar{a}can < t\bar{e}che$ (< **taikjan*) etc. However, it should be remembered that this classification has nothing but theoretical value for such a written record as *E mare*.⁶⁾

4b.) **OE \bar{e} > ME \bar{e}** (a long slack sound):— e. g. $bl\bar{e}dan > bl\bar{e}de$ / $cw\bar{e}n > qw\bar{e}ne$ / $gr\bar{e}tan > gr\bar{e}ten$ / $h\bar{e}ran > h\bar{e}re$ / $sc\bar{e}ne > sh\bar{e}ne$ / $st\bar{e}da > st\bar{e}de$ / $w\bar{e}la > w\bar{e}le$ etc.

4c.) **OE \bar{eo} > ME \bar{e}** :— The development of OE long *eo* may be treated in the same way as its short counterpart (cf. 3b.): e. g. $bl\bar{e}o > bl\bar{e}$ / $d\bar{e}ore > d\bar{e}re$ / $f\bar{e}oh > fee$ / $f\bar{e}ond > feend$ / $hl\bar{e}o > l\bar{e}$ / $l\bar{e}od > leede$ / $tr\bar{e}o(w) > tr\bar{e}$ / $tr\bar{e}owe > tr\bar{e}we$ etc.

4d.) **OE \bar{ea} > ME \bar{e}** :— The OE *ea* which had been monophthongized to *a* in the late OE period fell in with \bar{a}^2 , thus giving slack \bar{e} in all ME dialects but SE: e. g. $d\bar{e}ad > deed$ / $gr\bar{e}at > gr\bar{e}t$ / $h\bar{e}afod (> h\bar{e}(f)ed) > h\bar{e}ed, hede$ / $l\bar{e}as > lees$ / $na\bar{e}r > n\bar{e}re$ / $t\bar{e}ar > t\bar{e}re$ etc.

4e.) **OE *e* > ME \bar{e}** :— As in the case of *a* (cf. 2.), the lengthening occurred in most dialects during the first half of the 13th century and was accompanied by a change in quality to long slack *e* to join the same sound of different sources: e. g. $beran > b\bar{e}re$ /

brecan < brēke / me > mē / mete > mēte / spreca > spēke / wela > wēle etc.

- 5.) **OE ea > ME a**:— The monophthongization was brought about by the process in which *ea* first became *a*, then fell in with OE *a* and along with it changed to *a* in N / EM / WM and to *e* in the southern district: e. g. bealu > bale / eall > all / gearcian > ȝarke / heard > harde / hearpe > harpe / sceapan > shape / weaxan > waxe etc.

- 6a.) **OE i ~ ME i**:— Like *a* (1a.) and *e* (3a.), this OE vowel remained until the ME period. In the 14th century the writing of *y* for *i* became common for a certain scribal reason⁷⁾ instead of standing for the high-rounded sound / ü /: e. g. bliss > blyss / brim > brym / frið > fryp / micel > mykell / siððan > syth etc.

- 6b.) **OE y / ü / > ME i**:—In N/EM and in some part of SW,OE *y* was unrounded to *i*, though the writing *y* was kept for a considerable time. In the SE area around Kent it gave *e* and in SW/WM remained as *u* in the spelling. Some remnants of the *e*-form are *left*, *merry* etc., and others of the *u*-form *cudgel*, *shut* etc., while *bury* and *busy*, both in the SM/WM spelling, respectively represent the SE and the EM pronunciations. Examples: cyng (< cyning) > kynge / cyð(ðu) > kyth / lytel > lytell / mycel > myche / mynegian > mynge / myrigp > myrgth / styntan > stint / pyncan > pynke etc. Examples of the SW/WM spelling in *u* from *Emare* are: cyrtel > kurtell / pyrst

>thurste etc. The lengthening of *i* took place in the North and then underwent the subsequent change in quality to tense *ē* like *yfel*>*ēuyll* (or *ēuīl*) which found its way into StE.

7a.) OE *ī*~ME *ī*:— (cf. 6a.): e. g. *lif*>*lyf* / *liðe*~*lythe* / *swiðe*>*swyðe* / *tīd*>*tyde* etc. (*y*=*ī*)

7b.) OE *ȳ*>ME *ī*:— With the same development as the short vowel (see above), this was unrounded to *ī* in N/EM and lowered to *ē* in SE: e. g. *fȳr*>*fȳre* / *hȳdan*>*hȳde* / *prȳde*>*prȳde* etc.

8a.) OE *o*~ME *o*:— Unchanged like *a*, *e*, *i* and *u*: e. g. *bōdig*>*body* / *for*~*for* / *god*~*god* / *of*~*of* / *on*~*on* etc.

8b.) OE *ō*~ME *ō*:— The long vowel remains as tense *ō* in all dialects except N: e. g. *bōt*>*bōte* / *gōd*>*gōde* / *hōd*>*hōde* / *mōdor*>*mōder* / *mōna*>*mōne* / *scōp*>*shoope* / *sōð*>*sōpe* / *swōte*~*swōte* etc.

9a.) OE *ā*>ME *ō*:— OE *a* was rounded to a long, slack /*o*:/ sound south of the Humber (in EM, WM, SE and SW) in the 12th century. The process first began in the southern area and spread westwards and northwards, but did not get beyond the Humber: e. g. *ān*>*ōn* / *bāt*>*boot* / *fām*>*fōm* / *gāra*>*gōre* / *lār*>*lōre* / *mā*>*mō* / *sārig*>*sōry* / *stān*>*stōn* / *pā*>*thoo* / *wā*>*woo* etc.

9b.) OE *ā*~ME *ā*:— In *Emare* not a few Northern words are found which kept the OE vowel unchanged: e. g. *bān*>*bāne* / *cnāwan*>*knawe* / *māra*>*māre* / *on ān*>*anāne* (>ModE *anon*)

/ sār>sāre etc.

10a.) OE u~ME u:— Here it is noticed that *o* was often written for *u* (or *ou* sometimes) for a similar reason as in the case of *y* for *i* (cf. **6a.**) in the 14th century: e. g. *cuppe>kuppe* / *full* ~*full* / *kunnend>konnend* / *sunne>sonne* / *stund>stounde* / *purst>thurst* / *wunian>wonen* etc. In *Emare* we can find some examples showing the lengthening of the vowel in Northumbrian: *sumor>sōmer* / *sunu>sōne* etc.

10b.) OE ū~ME ū:— Note that the sound / u / is represented by two kinds of spelling like *ou* and *ow* in *Emare*: e. g. *būr>bour* / *cūðe>kowðpe* / *fūl>fowl* / *hūs>hows* / *mūp>mowth* / *ūt>out* etc.

§ 2. In the second section the formation of new diphthongs in ME is in question. What seems to make up for the general loss of OE diphthongs through the later monophthongization in ME is the rise of scores of new diphthongs from various OE sources specifically in the combinative position. It is by and large due to the following causes.

i) Front palatalized *g* (or *ȝ*) in combination with the preceding vowel. The vocalization of *g* is shown by the fact that already in late OE *i* stood for it instead.

1a.) OE æg>ME ai:— e. g. *dæg>day* / *fægen>fayn* / *fæger>fayr* / *mægden>mayde(n)* / *sæge>sayde* etc.

- 1b.) OE *eg* > ME *ei*** (=written *ai* / *ay* in *Emare*):— e. g. *ongegn* > *agayne*, *aʒeyn* / *plegian* > *play* / *regn* > *rayn* / *segel* > *sayl* / *umbregdan* > *umbrayde* / *weg* > *way* etc.
- 1c.) OE *ēg* > ME *ei* (>*ī*)**:— e. g. *ēge* (Anglian) > *eie* > *ye*
- 1d.) OE *ig* > ME *ī***:— A diphthong was not brought about in this process: e. g. *ænig* > *anȳ* / *bodig* > *bodȳ* / *hlæfdige* > *lādȳ* / *sārig* > *sōrȳ* / *stig* > *stȳ* etc.
- ii)** *W* or back palatalized *g* / *ɣ* / in combination with the preceding vowel. Various vowels in this connection gave rise to diphthongs ending in / *u* /. The sound / *g* / came to be vocalized as / *u* / after passing the stage / *w* / about 1200 in SMD.
- 2a.) OE *ag* / *aw* > ME *au***:— e. g. *sagu* > *sawe* / *wagian* > *wawe* etc.
- 2b.) OE *āg* / *āw* > ME *ou***:—e. g. *āgen* > *owen* / *sāwol* > *sowle* etc.
- 2c.) OE *ēow* > ME *ēu*** (perhaps representing a sound like / *ü* /):— e. g. *trēowe* > *trēwe* // *ēower* (>**üwer*) > *your* (also cf. § 1, 4c.)
- 2d.) OE *īw* > ME *iu*** (later written *ew*, *uw*, *u* etc.):— e. g. *stigward* > *steward* etc.
- iii)** A glide developed between a vowel and the following front or back voiceless fricative *h* / *χ* /. The glide appeared most clearly south of the Humber.
- 3a.) OE *ah* > ME *au***:— Almost all the ME dialects underwent this change with the development of a glide: e. g. *tahte* (Nbr.) > *tawʒte* etc.

- 3b.) OE āh > ME ou:**— In dialects south of the Humber this change took place in accordance with the process referred to in § 1, 9b. above: e. g. āhte > owht etc.
- 3c.) OE oh > ME ou:**— In some dialects south of the Humber diphthongization in this position did not take place: e. g. dohtor > dowʒter / sohte > sowʒte / pohte > powʒt, thought, thawʒte etc.
- 3d.) OE ōh > ME ou:**— This change occurred south of the Humber but did not get beyond: e. g. drōh > drowʒ / brohte > browʒt etc.
- 3e.) OE ēh (<ēah) > ME ēi > ī:**— The change happened south of the Humber: e. g. heh (<heah) > hī = hye, hy / LNbr. breht (<Angl. berht < OE beorht) > bryght etc.
- 3f.) OE uh > ME ū** (written *ow* in *Emare*):— Lengthening probably happened in *u* in this position: e. g. þuruh (<þruh) > þorow etc.

§ 3. The change in vocalic quantity, i. e. lengthening or shortening, is mainly due to the position of a vowel when it is combined with certain consonant groups or other adjacent sounds. From late OE to ME many lengthenings and shortenings took place and, what is more important, they have had a profound effect upon the phonological system of ModE.

i) To begin with, mention must be made of those lengthenings before such consonant groups as *-ld*, *-rd*, *-rl*, *-nd*, *-ng* etc., but we find that most of the lengthened vowels had been shortened again in N / EM at least when *Emare* was composed. Therefore, except

in rare cases like *lōrd* / *founde* / *stounde* etc. a great majority of vowels in such combinations prove to be unaltered apparently: hence, *chyld* / *golde* / *molde* / *mylde* / *olde* / *herde* / *erle* / *worlde* / *honde* / *londe* / *sonde* / *amonge* / *songe* etc.

Next, lengthening took place in open accented syllables of dissyllabic words in most dialects in the first half of the 13th century. But this change did not happen in trisyllabic words: e. g. *faran* > *fāre* / *nama* > *nāme* / *beran* > *bere* / *mete* > *mete* / *hopa* > *hōpe* etc. The lengthening of *i* and *u* respectively leading to *e* and *ō* did not happen till the 14th century and then mainly in the north and later in NM. To this *Emare* bears witness by a very few instances: *gewriten* > *wreten* / *sumor* > *sōmer* / *sunu* > *sōne* etc.

ii) The shortening of OE long vowels may be chiefly attributed to the following causes.

- a) When long vowels precede double consonants: e. g. *hȳdde* > *hydde* / *gemædd* > *madde* / *lædde* > *ledde* etc.
- b) When long vowels are followed by two different kinds of consonants e. g. **wēpte* > *wepte* / *cēpte* > *kepte* / *tāhte* > *tawȝte* etc.
- c) In polysyllabic words (the shortening of a long vowel in the first syllable): *Cristendōm* > *Crystendōm* / *nā pȳ lās* > *nāfre* . . . > *neuer-pe-lesse* etc.
- d) In accented syllables (the shortening of a long vowel in prefixes or final syllables): e. g. *āfāred* > *afērede* / *āscamod* > *ashāmed* / *ārīsan* > *arȳce* etc.

2. Consonants

The substantial changes in the consonantal system during the transition period from OE to ME were very few indeed, which tells of the comparative stability of consonants in general. It may be said that in ME modifications have more to do with orthography. As for *Emare*, reference will be made only to what is considered noteworthy.

i) Historically viewed, *c* had done double duty for a back (or guttural) and a front (or palatal) stop /*k*/ and /*tʃ*/ (*c* in writing). In ME for the front *c* the scribes adopted the writing *ch* (medially *cch*, later *tch*) used in French MSS., while for the back sound they kept *c*, except before *e* and *i*. Then they had recourse to *k* to avoid confusion with the French *c* which was also used for /*ts*/ as in *blecen* etc. and for /*s*/ as in *ice*. The following points are to be noticed in *Emare*.

a) For the back stop *c* and *k* are used sometimes interchangeably. Interesting to remark, *k* is in use for this sound, i. e. with *a*, *o*, *u* coming after, when *c* is traditionally expected without any confusion. This may be regarded as one of the scribal habits at least : e. g. *kase* / *surkote* / *kuppe* // *wykked* / *kyng* etc. (cf. *case* / *come* / *curtays* etc.)

b) For the front stop /*tʃ*/, the writing *ch* (medial *cch*) is usual :

e. g. mychel / chēre / chyld // wrecched etc.

c) Chiefly for the sound /s/ in French loan words, *c* is used: e. g. acyce (or asyce / asyse) / grece (-*ce* in this case stands for OF pl. *gres*) / pryce // aryce (for the native word) etc.

ii) While OE *g* was used for three different sounds, i. e. a voiced back stop /g/, a front spirant /j/, and a voiced back spirant /v/ (/g/ between back vowels), in ME these sounds came to be represented by different symbols. In *Emare* we find as follows.

a) For the voiced back stop *g* was kept in use: e. g. gāre / gyle / agayn / geten / gōde etc.

b) For the front spirant a new symbol ȝ known as ‘yogh’ had been adopted and was in full use in *Emare*: e. g. ȝaf / ȝode / ȝou / ȝynge / ȝede / aȝeyn // syȝ etc.

c) For the voiced back spirant which was vocalized to /u/ in the form of diphthong as in *sawe* (<sagu) etc., ȝ was sometimes used, but in *Emare* the writing *y* was exclusively employed instead: e. g. dayes / layes (earlier *daȝes* / *laȝes*) etc.

iii) OE *h* stood for the voiceless back or front spirant, i. e. /x/ or /ç/, for which three kinds of writing as later innovations are found used interchangeably in *Emare*: e. g. dowȝter / sowȝte / tawȝte // thawȝt / browght / wrowght // knyȝt / syȝt // aryght / wyght // (and rarely) dowhter / myswrowht etc. Note that the spelling *kowȝpe* has no etymological reason whatever for the presence of ȝ (normally *kowpe* < OE *cūp*) being a case of false analogy which

is usually due to scribal error. Hence it follows that the spirant, whether front or back, was being null and void already at the time of *Emare*, because there is found a proof that *hye* is written side by side with *hygh* or *such* with *shuch* (also cf. *phorne*).

iv) The OE writing *-cg* representing the voiced front stop / dʒ / is written *gg* medially in ME and the same sound in French loan words is represented initially by *g* / *j* and medially by *g* in *Emare*: e. g. *gent* / *joye* // *huge* / *sege* etc. Examples to show the ME writing *gg* for native words are not to be found here because the sound seems to have been completely palatalized like *say* (<seggen) and the like.

v) OE *sc* came to be written *sch* in early ME and *Emare* had *sh* and *ssh* (medially): e. g. *she* / *shene* / *shāme* // *lasshed* / *whesshen* etc.

vi) In *Emare* we find that the writing *u* is used for the voiced labial / v / both initially and medially: e. g. *ualed* / *ualowre* // *haue* / *leue* / *seuen* etc. Rarely *w* is found for / v /: *knawe* / *wawe* etc.

vii) For the dental, whether voiced / ð / or voiceless / θ /, the old *p* and the new *th* are found interchangeably: e. g. *pat* / *panne* / *pyng* // *that* / *then* / *thyng* etc.

3. The Sound of French Loan Words

Linguistically it would be by virtue of a number of Romance

words in some form or other that *Emare* lays claim to one of those medieval romances as such. This chapter is, accordingly, designed for the phonological treatment of them at the time when they made an appearance in this verse story. What matters most in such a case is the problem how loan words generally could find themselves in a new linguistic environment other than their own. A kind of compromise will be reached by mutual concessions as it were, and the manner of compromise is different according to the date and place of borrowing. In this case the language of such compromise is generally known as Anglo-Norman or Anglo-French (AF) and no introductory mention of it will be necessary now.

A.) Vowels⁸⁾

- i) The OF writing *a* before nasals (*m* and *n*) is represented *au* in AF and ME texts after the 13th century: e.g. OF *ch(e)aunce* > *chawmse* / *comandement* > *commaundement* / *granter*, *greanter* > *graunte* / *marchant* > *marchaunte* etc. The spelling *au* before *-mb* and *-nge* / *-ndʒ* / tended to disappear during the 14th century and came to be reduced to *a*, but in N / NWM and some other dialects the former was kept on like *chawmber* / *chaunge* etc. in *Emare*.
- ii) The writing *en*, which afterwards stood for the pronunciation /*ǣ*/ in Central French, was preserved in AF: e.g. *aventowre* / *emperour* / *present* etc.
- iii) The sound /*o*/ in combination with nasals plus consonants changed to /*u*/ (written *o*, *u*, *ou* [long]) in AF whereas it was

kept on in CF : e. g. OF encumbrer > cumber / (≈) trompe (> ModE trump) / conseil > counseyle etc.

iv) The AF writings *o* and *u* (later *ou*) invariably stood for / u /, and *ou* and *ow* for its lengthening / u : / : e. g. OF portraire > purtrei, portray // duble > dowbell / flur > flowre / tur > towre / nourture > noritowre etc.

v) AF *ai* and *ei* fell in with ME *ai* which had been monophthongized to slack / e /, so we find three kinds of spelling for this sound in *Emare* : e. g. OF arai, arei > araye / curteis > curtays / gai > gay / lai > lay // air > eyr / certain > certayne / *conceivre > conceyue // (≈) ese / (≈) resoun etc.

vi) AF *ie* changed to / e / after the 12th century to fall in with ME slack / e : / : OF cornier > corner / manière > manere etc.

vii) Those vowels not known to ME are represented as follows :

a) French nasal vowels are replaced by each corresponding English sound as in : enamourer > anamore / chalenge > chalange etc.

b) The sound / ü / was represented by *u* and did not fall in with OE / ü / (written *y*), which had been developed to / i : / : e. g. huge / judgement / study / vertue etc.

viii) The long vowel / ü : / fell in with the same sound from OE *y* in W/SW, but this was later replaced by *i* except for French words. Attempts would have been made to keep / ü : / as faithfully as possible, but in the 14th century French / ü : / became one with

ME *iu* which was a development from OE *eow* and *tw*. This is clear from the spelling *ew* / *u* for French / *ü*:/, and *u* / *uw* (= *ow* / *ou* in *Emare*) for ME *iu*. The exact sound value is not easy to determine by these writings, but it must have been approximately / *ju*:/ . Instances from *Emare* are: AF *juel* > *jewell* // *duc* > *duke* / *user* > *use* etc.

ix) AF *ué* had been probably developed to / *ö* / in the 12th century. Like / *ö* / from OE *eo*, this sound, when borrowed, became unrounded / *e* / or / *e*:/ . Among various spellings for it, we find *e* and *o* in *Emare*: OF *cuvrir*, *covrir* > *kouere*, *keuere* / *removier* > *remeuv*-, *remov*- > *remeue* etc.

x) Though resembling in the spelling, *joye* and *poynt* are of different sources: the former from *oi* (<Lat. *au*+*i*), and the latter from *ui* (<Vulgar Lat. *o*+*i*). These two kinds have been since kept from falling in with the similar ME diphthongs in spite of dialectal variants derived from them.

B.) Consonants

As a rule consonants are far less susceptible of environmental alteration than vowels and it will suffice here to make reference to a few cases in *Emare*.

i) French / *s* / is kept unaltered, but we have to remember that Northern French had / *tʃ* / (written *ch*) in contrast to the Central French / *s* / (coming from Latin *ce*, *ci*, *ti*). A number of loans in ME still continue to be represented in the NF pronunciation: e.g.

chawmber / chaunge / marchaunte etc. Others show the CF pronunciation: asyce, acyse / asowr / grece (<OF gres: pl. of gre) / norysse / sertes, certes / topase etc.

ii) In contrast to the NF word beginning with *w*—which itself was of Germanic origin—we find instead *g* in loan words from CF as in *gyle* etc.

iii) OF / dʒ / was introduced into ME unchanged and written *g* or *j*: e. g. *gent* / *gentell* / *jewell* / *joye* // *burgeys* / *chaunge* etc.

iv) The internal *s* in front of *t* and *p* was kept in AF words while it was lost in CF: e. g. *castell* / *feste* / *haste* / *honeste* // *dysplaye* etc.

4. The Sound of Old Norse Loan Words

Scandinavian habitation for hundreds of years in E / N / NW districts not only brought about a great number of their, i. e. Old Norse words but a partial assimilation of English words to their own as well. This is not so manifest until the ME period in which numerous manuscripts began to appear. Chief ON traits in sound to be seen in *Emare* are as follows.⁹⁾

a) The diphthong / ei / (<Germanic *ai*) spelt *-ay-*, which later fell in with the native *ai*: e. g. ON *sveinn* > *swayne* / *þeir* > *they* etc.

b) The long / a : / (<WGmc. *ā*) as in ON *já* > *jo* / *ár* > *or* (cf. ME *ēr* < OE *ǣr*) / *várum* > *wōre* (cf. ME *wēre* < OE *wāron*) etc.

c) A consonantal combination *sk* which shows a strong tendency

in ON words to resist palatalization as in ON *skinn* > *skynne* / *sky* > *skye* etc.

d) The voiced back stop / *g* / at the beginning of words in contrast to the front palatalization of OE *g* when preceded or followed by *a*, *e*, *i*: e. g. ON p. p. *getinn* > *geten* / *gat* > *gate* ‘way’ (cf. OE *gæt* / *geat*) etc.

5. Special Cases Examined

Since language is a complex system of rules with exceptions, some space must be spared for the consideration of special cases. Exceptional as they would appear, granted a technical perspective most of them in substance may be attributed to any one of the above-stated rules.

i) **bryght** comes from the late Northumbrian OE form *breht* which in itself is the metathesis of Anglian *berht*, an unrounded dialectal variant of OE *beorht* (cf. 1, 1, 3b. and 2, 3e.)

ii) **cledde** is a contracted form of **clēpde* as the result of *p* having been absorbed into the following *d* which is a normal development from late Nbr. OE *clāpde* (pret. of *clāpan*), but ON *klædda* (pret. of *klæða*) may be partly the source (cf. 1, 1, 4a. and *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, s. v. *cloth*).

iii) **come** (as preterite) is a normal ME descendant from the OE pret. Form *cōm* / *cwōm*. The modern dialectal *come* as pret. is directly from this, but in ME another form *cam* / *cāme* appeared

first in N/E in the 13th century probably after ON *kvam* and finally replaced the former (cf. 1, 1, 8b. and *ODEE*, s. v. *come*).

iv) **foure** could not be traced back immediately to OE *fēower* without taking into account the accentual transfer from *fēower* to **fēower*: a natural development from the former would be something like **fewer* (ME) or **fure* (ModE) (cf. 1, 1, 4c.)

v) **zore** might be easily explained by its descent from OE *geare* (? <ge+ar) as *ODEE* interprets, but the same as above seems to be also true of this word, because we can point out the accentual transfer from *gēara* (gen. pl. of *gear* 'year') to *gēdra*, thus giving rise to the present ME form.

vi) **zyng**, widely seen in popular verses, would be from Nbr. OE palatalized *zing* (<geong) or from the comparative form *zingra* of WS dialect. But either cannot be decisive.

vii) **sorow** is one of those frequent instances where a parasitic vowel inserts itself between consonants to simplify a consonant cluster. In OE this often took place especially before such consonants as *l*, *n*, *r* or between them and *h* / *χ* /, *ʒ*, *w*: hence, OE *sorh*, *sorg* > *sorow* / *morgen* > *morowe* / *purh* > *thorow* etc.

viii) **wommon** comes from OE *wifman*(*n*) through two stages of development, i. e. first by the assimilation of *-fm-* to *-mm-* as in late OE *leofman* > *lemman*, next by the rounding in the 13th century of *wim-* to *wum-* / *wom-*. This may be explained physiologically because the rounding mutation from /i/ to /u/ after the bilabial

semivowel / w / will be more natural than otherwise.

ix) worche (as verb) cannot be directly traced back to WS-OE *wyrčan* / *wierčan* which gave ME *wirche* / *wyrche*. Those WS sounds were rounded to *wur-* / *wor-* in late Nbr. for the similar reason just stated in the above. *ODEE* fails to take account of these dialectal forms in explaining the history of *work* as verb.

x) wore is not either a form to be naturally expected from OE *wæron* (which gave *wēre* in ME), but a normal development from the ON loan *várom* / *várum* (ind. pret. 1st pers. of *vera* 'to be'). This was one of N/EM dialectal forms based on ON adoption.

xi) wyddwehede presents something noteworthy in its suffix *-hede*. Seeing that the original form is OE *wuduwanhād*, we naturally expect *~hōde* (>ModE *-hood*). Accordingly the suffix *-hede* should be from some other source: in this case a hypothetical form must be **hædu* which is mutated from *-hād*; it was in long use side by side with this after the ME period only to be obsolete except in ModE *godhead* / *maidenhead* etc.

Notes:—

- 1) Cf. W. P. Ker, *Medieval English Literature* (O. U. P., repr., 1955) p. 96.
- 2) A. B. Gough, Preface to *Emare*, p. viii.
- 3) 'Emare' is from OF *esmarie* 'the bewildered, distressed one'.
- 4) "Menstrelles that walken fer and wyde / Her and ther in euery syde / In mony a dyuerse londe, / Sholden ... / Speken of that

ryghtwys kyng ...”

- 5) The text on which the present treatise is based is the edition by A. B. Gough as Vol. II in the series *Old and Middle English Texts* ed. by Lorenz Morsbach & Ferdinand Holthausen (Heidelberg 1901).
- 6) Cf. Hans Krahe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*, I (Berlin 1948) p. 44 and Karl Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, I (repr., Oxford 1964) pp. 341–356.
- 7) “In ME it is used for *i*, this *y* being found especially in combination with an *n* or *m*—positions in which in the pointed writing of the ME MSS *y* was clearer than *i*” (E. E. Wardale, *An Introduction to Middle English*, London 1949) p. 48.
- 8) Cf. Fernand Mossé, *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen âge*, II, Tome 1 (Paris 1959) p. 53 ff.
- 9) See my treatise *Old Icelandic Loan Words in Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, Part I [Studies in English Literature and Language, Kyushu Univ., No. 12 (Fukuoka 1962)].